1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .

In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomŏoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*ciki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Eua, but found no one there; then he went through eastern Tongatabu,
773 but without success. So he came through middle Tongatabu, where were
775 ten handsome men, but he chose none of them. Then he reached western Tongatabu, and went on to the village of Haatafu, which stands at the end of the island. There he stood at the entrance to the village, and thus expressed his hopes, "This is a beautifully situated town; if its position is so fair, how much more the people who dwell in it."

So he entered the town, and, hearing shouting, went and stood before the house whence the noise came. Looking in he saw the chief Lolomatokelau seated at a game of *lafo*. Straightway he entered the house, and greeted Lolomatokelau, who returned his greeting,[6] and asked why he had come. And Ofamaikiatama replied that he had been through the whole of Tonga seeking a plant for medicine for his child, and so at last had come to this part. Then Lolomatokelau congratulated him on his coming and getting medicine, and he and his men provided kava, and they drank kava together. When this was finished Ofamaikiatama thanked them for the kava, and said that he would go with the medicine for his child.

[823] So he departed, and pulling up the reed at Niuaunofo he entered Pulotu,[6] and going straight to Lolongovavau told her to come with him, for he would get a husband for her in the world. "How can we escape from this place?" asked the maiden. But the man stole the life-affecting fan (*I Taumoui*) of Hikuleo, to fan to sleep Pukolea and Akautalanoa and Pulotu. So they went up to the world, and Ofamaikiatama left the girl in Lolomatokelau's compound with the fence of eight crosspieces, and returned himself to Pulotu.

Now Lolomatokelau had a pigeon named Mahuamata (Full of eyes) kept in the compound, and the pigeon cooed to tell her master about the maiden. Straightway Lolomatokelau waked, and called his younger brother, Lulutalihala, to go and see why the pigeon was cooing. The brother went, and brought word that there was a lovely maiden there, who was stringing a necklace of hala. So Lolomatokelau went, and kindly greeted her, and bade her come with him. Then lifting her up he carried her, and called his men and his sisters to come and hold joyful festival, for Lolongovavau was in the compound. So they ate together, and the two were married.

[607] In course of time Lolongovavau became with child, and bore a son, who was taken and cared for by her husband's sisters.[7] Now when the handsome men (*kau manaia*) of mid-Tonga heard that Lolomatokelau and Lolongovavau were married they sent word to him to come and join them in the sport of dart throwing (*tolo*). He told his wife that he would go to the game, and that if he did not return she would know that he was

6: Collocott\M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 773 775 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's sisters.

8. The literal translation of *taahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term, used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama, tamasii* [607] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

845 192 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife. Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

126 192 10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article. It is provisionally translated "my."

192 11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolomatokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomenclature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identification. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-day education and religion.

539 773 775 361

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 773 192 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite unknown to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei mangamanga* is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[843] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking. She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina *oku tuituia ki he atu.*

2. *Ko Vaihi ē*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. Fatailangalanga, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis* ?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster of gleaming hala.

539 773 4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands, are also called Kapala (21).

[103] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Foou, as spoken today, has been modified by the language of the main part of Tonga.

[133] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Foou afford little accommodation for boats. The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamauluau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluau." The hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakihahau."

2. The probable translation of Keuiafanafana is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] [195] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the maiden to her lover: *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the narrator.

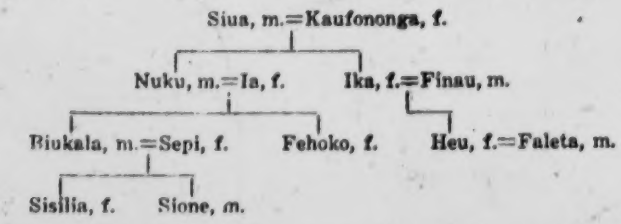
[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kamosia* stands *kanosia*, a word which I do not know. I conjecture that *kamosia*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun meaning gathering place of companions.

These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age.

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked according to age and descent. Thus in the following genealogy:



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
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MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata*'s possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata*'s wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga*'s children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

554 621 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village. But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 621 586 587 593 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 621 602 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another individual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 621 593 607 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises automatically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single ramified system.

554 593 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank; this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor, his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact, the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka, whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's sons are 16 and 24.

622 621 554 428 848

554 593 602 585 276 574 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions. In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.

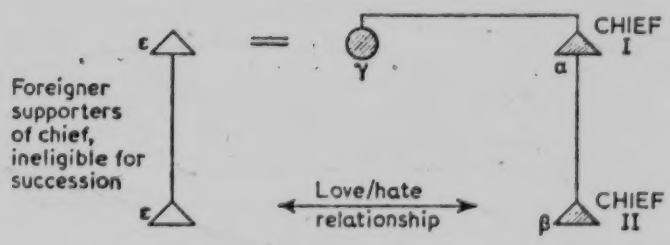
Appendix

EDMUND LEACH

The following supplementary analysis is the result of discussion between the editor and the author.

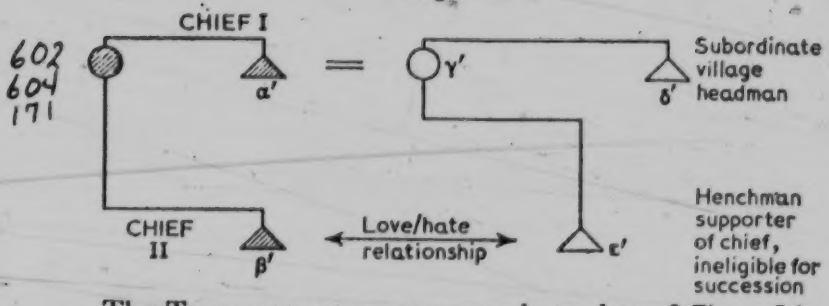
Patrilineal structures of the type represented by the reduced model shown in *Figure I* are quite familiar and have been extensively discussed in a polemical body of literature that emphasizes, as a rule, the ambiguous relationship between ϵ and his mother's brother α. In a society that stresses the theme of perpetual succession the relationship between the structural cross-cousins (β/ϵ) is interchangeable with that of mother's brother/sister's son (α/ϵ). Much of the argument deployed in Radcliffe-Brown (1924) and connected literature, as cited in Goody (1969), could be relevant to the Tongan case, and indeed Tonga features in that literature (cf. Goody, 1969, p. 81).

Figure I



A comparable matrilineal structure is that made famous by Malinowski's discussion of the relation between the Trobriand chief and his sons and heirs. It can be represented by *Figure II.*

Figure II



The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α, ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β, even though β is politically superior.

The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ, which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).[1]

In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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1 /See 82: Leach -- Analyst/